

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AID-05 EB-08 IGA-02 TRSE-00

OMB-01 MCE-00 ACDA-07 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SSO-00 INRE-00 /081 W

-----112281 301231Z /40

O 301007Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0901

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T NAIROBI 11107

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EAID, MASS, PGOV, US, KE, SO

SUBJECT: REASSURANCES TO KENYA RE SOMALIA

REF: A) STATE 205519; B) NAIROBI 11087 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: WHILE I WELCOME AUTHORITY IN REF A TO PROVIDE ASSURANCES TO KENYA IN THE CONTEXT OF DECISIONS REGARDING SOMALIA, I BELIEVE OUR OWN ABILITY UNDER EXISTING LEGISLATION TO EXPAND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO KENYA'S NORTHEAST IS QUITE LIMITED, AND THAT OBJECTIVE OF INCREASING ETHNIC SOMALIS' IDENTIFICATION WITH GOK WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE ACHIEVED BY STEPPING UP AID IN THIS REGION. I AM PRIMARILY CONCERNED THAT WE NOT RAISE KENYAN EXPECTATION BEYOND WHAT WE CAN DELIVER, AND THAT WE KNOW WHAT THE IMPACT OF ADDITIONAL AID IS BEFORE WE OFFER IT. WITH RESPECT TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE, IT IS QUITE LIKELY THAT KENYANS WILL BE COMING TO US SOON TO REQUEST ADDITIONAL DEFENSE ARTICLES, BUT FOR TACTICAL REASONS IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR US NOT TO INITIATE DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT. KENYANS HAVE BEEN BRIEFED ON OUR DECISION TO DEFER IMPLEMENTATION OF
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SOMALIA ARMS DECISION, AND AN OFFER AT THIS TIME OF MORE ARMS FOR KENYA MIGHT RAISE MORE QUESTION IN THEIR MINDS THAN ALLAYING THEIR CONCERNS. END SUMMARY.

2. I AM GRATEFUL FOR DEPARTMENT'S EFFORTS TO RESPOND TO THE VERY REAL CONCERN EXPRESSED BY KENYANS IN WAKE OF PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF OUR DECISION ON ARMS FOR SOMALIA.

I THINK THE CONCERN HAS SUBSIDED SOMEWHAT FOR THE MOMENT SINCE WE INFORMED THE KENYANS THAT WE WILL DEFER IMPLEMENTING THE ARMS DECISION WHILE SOMALIA IS FIGHTING IN THE OGADEN. NEVERTHELESS, THIS IS A GOOD TIME TO LOOK AT LONGER-RANGE STRATEGY WITH RESPECT TO KENYA'S ROLE IN HORN OF AFRICA POLITICS.

3. AFTER THE DEPARTMENT RAISED WITH AMBASSADOR MBOGUA IN WASHINGTON THE POSSIBILITY OF INCREASED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THE NORTHEAST (STATE 110967 OF MAY 14). WE BEGAN TO EXPLORE THIS QUESTION INTERNALLY WITHIN THE MISSION AND WITH GOK PLANNERS. ITA APPEARS THAT GOK AT PRESENT FAVORS TWO TYPES OF ASSISTANCE -- BUILDING TRUNK ROADS TO IMPROVE COMMUNICATION IN THE AREA, AND LAUNCHING IRRIGATION SCHEMES THAT WOULD PERMIT PERMANENT SETTLEMENT INSTEAD OF EXISTING NOMADIC PATTERS. UNLESS WE ARE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE THE ROADS PROJECT UNDER SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE, IT WOULD APPEAR DIFFICULT TO GIVE THE KENYANS THE ROADS THEY WANT. MOREOVER, THE REQUIRED ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STUDY OF SUCH PROJECTS WOULD BE TIME-CONSUMING. AS FAR AS IRRIGATION SCHEMES ARE CONCERNED, WE DOUBT THAT ETHNIC SOMALIS WOULD TAKE TO SEDENTARY LIFE, AND THE RESULT MIGHT BE SETTLEMENT OF PEOPLE FROM OTHER TRIBES WHOSE PRESENCE WOULD BE RESENTED BY SOMALI NOMADS. EVEN LIVE-STOCK AND RANGE MANAGEMENT PROJECTS, WHICH USAID HAS SUPPORTED AND IS CONTINUING TO SUPPORT IN THE NORTHEAST, SECRET

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FACE THE OBSTACLE OF ATTRACTING EVER INCREASING NUMBERS OF HERDSMEN AND THEIR ANIMALS FROM OTHER PARTS OF KENYA AND PRESEUMABLY ALSO FROM THE SOMALI SIDE OF THE BORDER, WHO IN TURN PLACE A GREATER BURDEN ON THE RANGELANDS THAN THEY CAN SUPPORT. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT GOK LIVESTOCK PROJECTS WOULD ACHIEVE VERY MUCH IN INCREASING THE IDENTIFIACION OF ETHNIC SOMALIS WITH THE NAIROBI GOVERNMENT; ON THE CONTRARY, SUCH PROJECTS MAY SIMPLY INCREASE THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE NORTHEAST FOR AN EVENTUAL SOMALI TAKEOVER. ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE MIGHT BE EXTENSION OF ONGOING MARGINAL LANDS STUDY TO NORTHEAST. DISCUSSIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN HELD WITH GOK OFFICIALS WHO HAVE INFORMALLY EXPRESSED INTEREST. STUDY OF IMPLEMENTED WOULD BE PRECURSOR TO LONG-TERM EFFORT TO DEVELOP MARGINAL AREAS OF THIS PROVINCE.

4. I DO NOT MEAN TO THROW COLD WATER ON THE WHOLE IDEA OF AID TO THE NORTHEAST, NOR DO I MEAN TO IMPLY THAT IT IS A LOST CAUSE FOR THE GOK. WHAT I WISH TO EMPHASIZE IS THAT WE NEED TO KNOW MORE ABOUT BOTH MEANS AND ENDS BEFORE COMMITTING OURSELVES TO A MAJOR EFFORT IN THIS PART OF KENYA, AND WE MUST BEAR IN MIND THAT THE IMPACT OF WHAT WE DO PROBABLY WILL NOT BE FELT IN THE CRITICAL

TIME FRAME OF THE NEXT YEAR OR SO. THUS IT WOULD BE
UNWISE TO RAISE GOK EXPECTATIONS BEYOND THAT WE CAN
DELIVER.

5. WITH RESPECT TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE, WE HAVE GENERALLY
ASSUMED THAT WHEN THE FINANCIAL AND MANPOWER DEMANDS OF
THE F-5 SALE APPROACH THE POINT OF BEING FULLY MET, THE
KENYANS CAN BE EXPECTED TO REQUEST ADDITIONAL U.S.
MILITARY EQUIPMENT ON FMS TERMS. THE ORIGINAL RATIONALE
FOR OUR SELLING F-5'S WAS TO HELP THEM MEET THE
SOMALI THREAT, AND THEY OBVIOUSLY REAGRD THIS THREAT AS
MORE IMMINENT NOW THAN THREE YEARS AGO. I THINK, HOWEVER,
THAT WE WILL RETAIN FLEXIBILITY IN RESPONDING TO FURTHER
REQUESTS IF WE DO NOT INITIATE DISCUSSIONS OF NEW ARMS
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SALES TO KENYA BUT LET THEM COME TO US WITH THEIR NEEDS
FIRST. FURTHERMORE, SINCE WE HAVE ASSURED KENYA THAT
ARMS FOR SOMALIA ARE TO BE FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES ONLY,
AND HAVE BRIEFED THEM ON REASONS FOR DEFERRING IMPLEMENTA-
TION OF THE SOMALIA ARMS DECISION, WE RUN THE RISK OF
UNDERMINING OUR PREVIOUS ASSURANCES BY APPEARING TOO EAGER
TO PROVIDE FURTHER ARMS TO KENYA. I THEREFORE FEEL IT
IS IN OUR INTERESTS TO LET THE KENYANS BE THE DEMANDEUR
IN THIS SITUATION, AND I AM FAIRLY SURE THEY WILL BE
PRESENTING THEIR NEEDS IN THE NEAR FUTURE(PERHAPS EVEN
A HINT WILL COME WHILE AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND ASSISTANT
SECRETARY MOOSE ARE HERE).

6. I PLAN TO DISCUSS THE FOREGOING WITH YOUNG AND MOOSE,
AND THEY MAY HAVE A BRITISH PERSPECTIVE TO CONTRIBUTE
AS WELL AS THEIR OWN JUDGEMENTS. I HOPE DEPARTMENT
WILL AGREE THERE IS SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY IN GUIDELINES
CONTAINED REF A TO ACCOMMODATE THESE CAVEATS, WHICH IN
NO WAY INTENDED TO DIMINISH STRENGTH OF OUR ASSURANCES
TO KENYA THAT ITS SECURITY AND WELLBEING REMAIN IMPORTANT
IN OUR HORN OF AFRICA POLICY.
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